

Desperate Russian Resistance Slows Up Germany's Formidable Panzer Divisions

Review of Ninety-Seventh Week of War

By John C. Henry.

Feature of last week's war was the stationary fury of Adolf Hitler's blitzkrieg into Red Russia. Having churned their way rapidly through Baltic and Polish territories in first two weeks of Russian invasion, Nazi divisions seemingly had come to a virtual standstill last week against Stalin Line, main defense frontier of U. S. S. R.

Meanwhile, French and British finally halted fighting for truce in Syria. Somewhat less intensively, British bombers continued banging at German industrial centers and potential invasion bases.

Here, there was surprise announcement that American naval forces had landed in Iceland; controversy over whether United States bases were being constructed or planned in North Ireland and Scotland. On Thursday and Friday President Roosevelt asked more than eight billion dollars in Army-Navy-Maritime supplemental appropriations.

On Fighting Fronts

Berlin began the past week with its customary claims of startling and spectacular successes, speaking somewhat specifically of gains in Bucovina and Bessarabia, but less definitely of holes being punched at unnamed points in Stalin Line.

Dealing in large figures only, Nazi headquarters listed 485 Soviet planes destroyed over week end as compared with 21 Germans downed. It was wonderful, Berlin indicated, with more than 7,000 Russian planes lost in two weeks, 300,000 prisoners taken, and most "terrible" Red atrocities uncovered in Ukraine.

Not to be outdone, Moscow on Monday declared German offensive had been stopped along entire 1,100-mile front, with Red counter-attacks under way at five distinct points. In 16 days, Moscow said, Nazis had lost nearly 1,000,000 men in dead and wounded.

In attempting to make choice between contradictory versions, there was one difference favoring that from Moscow, namely, that Russian communiques named places where fighting was in progress, while German pronouncements were pointedly vague.

This distinction became even more noticeable in Tuesday's communiques as Moscow claimed precise successes along 600-mile central front, particularly at bloodied Dnieper and Dniestr River banks. Between these two natural battle lines, running generally north and south, Nazi Luftwaffe hammered at key city of Zhitomir, but of land action Berlin sources complained only that Red defenders were using foul tactics of letting German units pass concealed easements for purposes of cutting them down in rear, and that other Bolos played dead until unwary invaders were entrapped.

It was on Tuesday, too, that first Baltic Sea engagement of this war was reported, with Russians claiming destruction of two German minelayers and routing of Nazi cruiser.

Berlin continued evasive on Wednesday, after claiming successes in Estonia and Finland, dismissing rest of struggle by saying, "The fights continue successful on the entire eastern front."

Moscow claimed a decisive victory in North Russia with two motorized Ger-

man regiments badly shattered, and reported Nazi column aimed at Leningrad under heavy artillery fire as its progress was halted. Heaviest fighting, however, was said to be around Polotsk, just ahead of Stalin Line and one of points at which German advance in 1918 halted. Southward, Moscow said German-Rumanian units had been thrown back across River Prut, Bessarabian line.

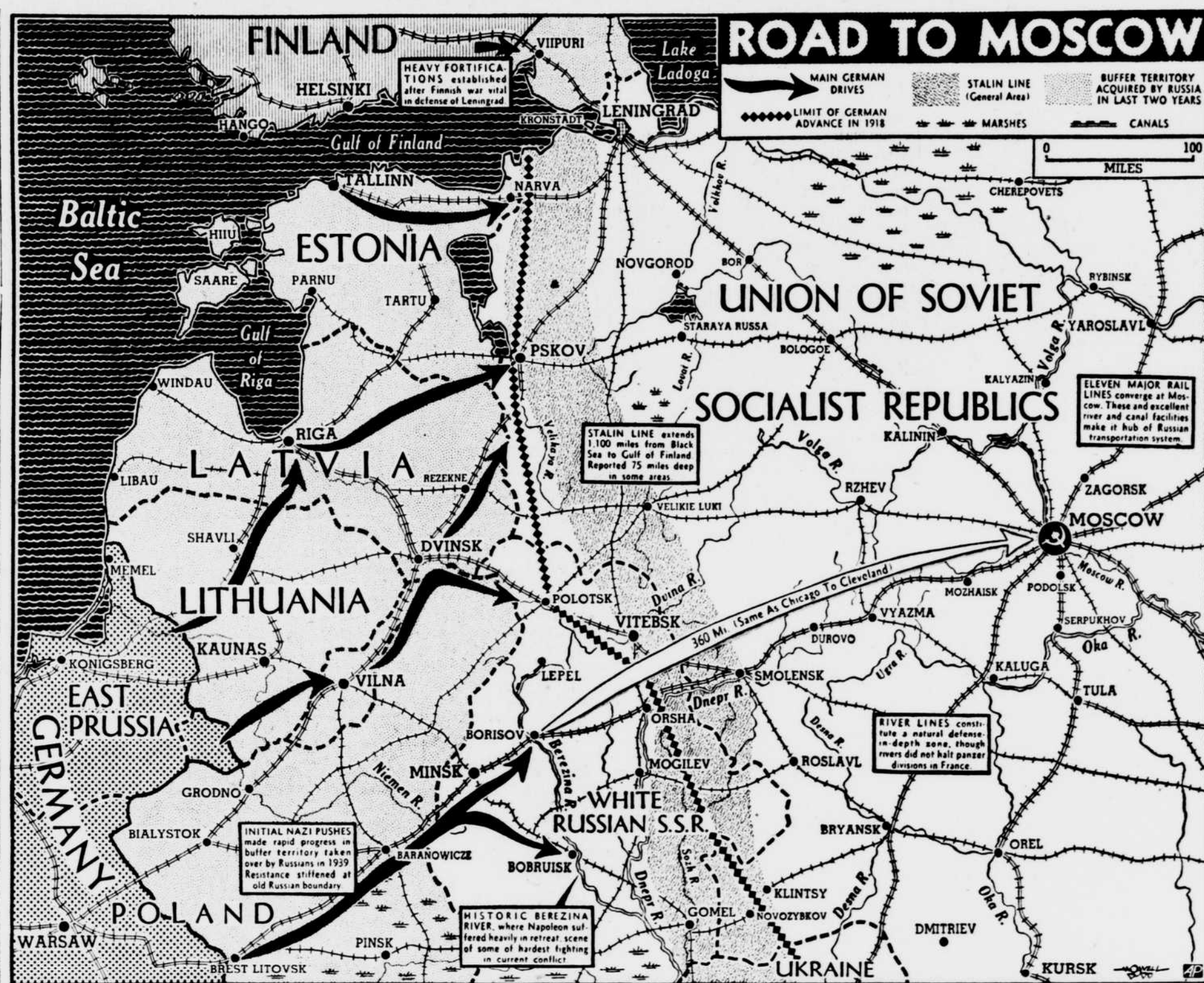
From Axis-friendly Vichy came story of shake-up in Finnish-German-Rumanian commands as climax of these continuing days of Nazi failure to speed its march for Moscow.

That this failure is a positive one was reflected further on Thursday when Soviet communiques told of smashing German motorized division between Lepel and Borisov, well outside Stalin Line and at least most direct route to Moscow. Nowhere did Reds admit reverses and from Berlin came only assertions that operations were "progressing relentlessly." Finally acknowledging stories of Nazi failures, German spokesmen promised that there would be "an entirely different picture" when the Berlin high command chooses to reveal the facts.

But on Friday, D.N.B., official German news agency, conceded that eastward drive had been stalled. As explanation, however, Berlin complained that highways were clogged by wrecked Russian tanks and vehicles. Returning to big figures, Nazi agency said 191 Soviet planes and 375 trucks had been destroyed in single day, while Luftwaffe pounded again at Zhitomir. Confirming the stalling, Moscow said entire front was inactive except for reciprocal air engagements.

In pointing his main drive along the Borisov-Moscow line, Hitler is following course taken by Napoleon in 1812. Launching his invasion on June 24 of that year, only two days later in season than was chosen by Hitler, French Emperor led 450,000 men into Moscow, but destruction of food supplies left him facing bleak prospects. An unprofitable month in Moscow was followed by decision to retreat into Prussia, but blistering summer had turned to ravaging winter by this time, with disastrous results so well known to historians.

Meanwhile, French-British war in



Syria was climaxed by a truce as British besieged Beirut.

Land artillery and naval batteries played large part as British units, composed largely of Australians, blasted at coastal city.

On Wednesday it was announced that Vichy government had asked "an immediate silencing of arms" and that American Consul General Fight On at Beirut had been designated as intermediary. For two days then there were divergent reports from London, Beirut and Vichy as to British reaction and true nature of response for plea of peace.

It became established on Friday, however, that Vichy had balked at British terms—said to include surrender of arms and warships, occupation of Syria by British troops, and implied recognition of De Gaulle Free French movement—

and that fighting might continue indefinitely.

French naval units were reported to have left Beirut during this period to take refuge in Turkish port of Alexandria, but pressure from Berlin is believed responsible for Vichy delay over armistice and ferrying of French reinforcements to Syria in German transport planes was reported.

Active participation of Nazi facilities in this conflict probably would be major influence and might be fatal to British hopes of maintaining defense of Suez area. Truce was hopeful turn, therefore.

With main German air strength concentrated on eastern front, British air force continued night and day blasting at industrial cities of Reich and Nazi-held ports from Holland through Belgium and France.

Conflicting claims make it difficult to appraise true results of these forays, but burden of reports indicate that R. A. F. inflicted material damage at several key objectives even if cost was high in planes and pilots.

Single major retaliatory assault by Nazi flyers was against Southampton, South England port.

At sea there was likewise a lull in intensive warfare, but of headline importance to Americans was announcement that six Red Cross nurses were believed lost in sinking of British merchant ship which cleared from Gulf Coast port on June 5. Four other nurses were reported safe.

And just to round up reports of fighting throughout this embarrassing world—Japanese sources announced capture of last Chinese coastal port, Weng Kong, and two South American nations, Peru

and Ecuador, traded bullets over boundaries.

On Domestic Front

Most spectacular of domestic developments during week was President Roosevelt's announcement on Monday that naval forces that day had been landed in Iceland as part of action to "forestall any pincers movement undertaken by Germany against the Western Hemisphere." Coupled with this action was sending of substantial forces to Trinidad and British Guiana, Middle Atlantic bases now being maintained by this Government.

Eventually, Mr. Roosevelt said, American forces would replace estimated 80,000 British troops which have been occupying Iceland for past 15 months.

By this step, American Government completed crescent-shaped chain of outposts stretching from U. S. "Takes" Arctic Circle to Equator and forming line of defense for entire Atlantic seaboard of northern half of this hemisphere.

To make this defensive gesture fully effective, United States Fleet was ordered to take all "necessary steps" to maintain communications between bases and continental mainland.

Out of Iceland disclosure developed several verbal tempests.

First was exchange over fact that Senator Wheeler, Montana Democrat, four days earlier had declared publicly that such a step was planned or under way. London howled that advance disclosure had jeopardized lives, British and American, and Churchill dispatched "expression of concern" directly to Roosevelt.

Following closely, however, was assertion by Senator Taft, Ohio Republican, that American naval-air bases were planned or under way in North Ireland or Scotland. London answered this, too, by saying that Americans were working for British government on North Ireland project and President affirmed this by pointing to its complete legality.

Another storm raged over nature of "necessary steps" which Navy had been ordered to take for keeping sea lanes clear, with Secretary Knox implying in press conference that this would mean shooting. Called before Senate committee, Knox denied that shooting already had occurred.

Because important phases of American defense program are ahead of schedule, President Roosevelt asked Congress on Thursday and Friday for supplemental appropriations of \$4,770,000,000 for Army, \$1,625,000,000 for Navy, and \$1,698,000,000 for Maritime Commission. Most of latter, it was explained, will be devoted to construction of 566 new merchant ships, planned for completion by end of 1943.

Congressional approval of War Department recommendation for keeping draftees in service beyond year and for removal of restrictions against sending American troops out of hemisphere was endangered during week by reaction of Speaker Rayburn, although President indicated favor at press conference. It was at this conference, on Tuesday, that Mr. Roosevelt also in effect wiped out hemispherical lines by speaking of defense points outside this half of the world.

On Thursday, House passed bill providing for mandatory deferment from draft of men over 28 years of age.

And yoo-hoo heard around the world came from Tennessee when draftee unit whistled at girls in shorts, within hearing of golfing general, and was punished by 150-mile extra jaunt, part of it by foot. Indignant House members focused attention on incident to point where War Department ordered general to make full report.

WAR'S LESSON: DEFENSE IS NOT ENOUGH

Iceland Occupation Seen Hint U. S. May Move First

By Constantine Brown.

The occupation of Iceland by United States Marines brings this country directly into the zone of operations of the belligerents for the first time since the outbreak of the second World War and is viewed in some quarters as the beginning of America's offensive against the Axis.

There is no doubt that the primary motive which prompted the administration to act was the desire to prevent the Germans from attacking the British force in Iceland and to establish a comparatively safe shipping lane for ships carrying arms and planes to Great Britain. But there is a more important military reason for the physical occupation of the island.

The War Plans and Operations Divisions of the Army and Navy naturally have been studying Hitler's campaigns with the utmost care, especially the attack against Russia. There have been many explanations for the collapse of Western European countries under the blows of the Nazi divisions, even though at times the forces opposing Germany were superior numerically. But we have accepted the general theory that the overwhelming number of German air planes and mechanized forces has defeated the foremost European military nations.

Attack on Russia a Revelation.

The attack on Russia was a revelation. There was a country which, for the last 15 years has been preparing herself militarily on the basis of intense mechanization of forces. Russia was run by a dictator. Hence it did not suffer from parliamentary and public opinion influences in the development of her armies. The Russian technicians decided that the future battles would be fought by steel monsters and airplanes. And they went ahead and constructed as many tanks and airplanes as their fast-growing industry and availability of raw materials permitted them.

The Russians were the first to devise the supertank. In fact Germans learned the technique of building those monsters from the Soviets at a time—before Hitler—when the Reich was not permitted to build either tanks or military airplanes or heavy guns.

The Russians were the first to develop the parachute army and the transport airplane which besides carrying men also was able to carry in the fuselage a light tank with a complete crew. Our observers saw these planes in Siberia dropping tank and crew behind imaginary enemy lines without actually making a landing.

All of these remarkable technical developments were originated by the Russians, and Hitler merely copied them later. The Russians were certainly not lacking in man power. While in trained troops they could not boast more than 5,000,000 men, the supply of reserves is almost inexhaustible. Yet the Germans, as soon as they made up their minds that the U. S. S. R. must be put out of action as a military power, succeeded beyond belief. At the time of this writing the fight is still on. But our military experts

—whose opinion is shared by the British general staff—believe that the present Russian government will not be able to prevent the eventual advance of the Germans. The complete collapse of the Moscow government, they feel, is only a matter of weeks.

The lesson we have learned from the clash between the two European monsters is simple and important; no nation can hope to defeat a well-organized military nation by remaining on the defensive. If we have decided to preserve our political, social and economic system it is only by attacking the enemy that we can hope to achieve success.

Lulled in Feeling of Security.

Here again the studies of our military observers are instructive. From data gathered in the last few months it seems clear that if Great Britain and France had taken the bull by the horns and decided to attack the Reich either in a frontal attack against the Siegfried Line or, what was easier, through "Belgium or Italy," at the time when the Reich was heavily engaged in Poland, the whole aspect of the war would have changed. The childish demonstration of the French outside the Maginot Line was too pusillanimous to worry the Germans. The Axis has defeated its opponents one by one, lulling those left into a feeling of security by assurance that the Reich had no hostile intentions against them. It is the same time that Herr Hitler is singing now to the United States whenever he has the opportunity of expressing himself for publication in this country.

If there had been any real statesmanship in Stalin and Foreign Minister Molotov or any real understanding of military operations among members of the juvenile Soviet general staff, the U. S. S. R. would not have been invaded today.

Stalin and the other Russian leaders kept away from contacts with the American and British Ambassadors in Moscow. In fact, when Sir Stafford Cripps, Britain's Ambassador to the U. S. S. R., wanted to communicate some definite information about the Germans' plans regarding Russia and asked to see Premier Molotov, he was received some ten days later by a third assistant secretary. When Sir Stafford expressed his desire to see Molotov personally he was informed that under the present political set-up it would be "unwise and unpatriotic" if any of the high-ranking members of the Communist government were to see the representatives of the democratic powers.

Stalin Missed Chance.

What the American and the British Ambassadors intended to convey to the heads of the Russian government was the necessity—for the safety of the U. S. S. R.—that they attack the Reich when the Axis powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece. The distance from the Russian air bases to Rumania and to Yugoslavia was not more than 120 and 400 miles, respectively. The Russians had concentrated in the Ukraine no less than 2,000 airplanes, bombers and pursuit machines. They also had an agreement with Yugoslavia to come to her rescue in the event she was attacked.

Had Stalin then launched his air force

against the Germans who fought a short but bitter fight in the Balkans, had they then destroyed the Rumanian airfields and damaged the communications between the German bases in Bulgaria and Rumania, the aspect of the war would have changed to the advantage of the democratic states.

But Stalin and the young men who are at the head of the Russian armies believed, like the Western European countries in defense rather than offense. The Russian Foreign Office fell for the sweet songs of Herr von Ribbentrop and discounted all warnings of a German attack against the Soviets. They believed what Ribbentrop was telling them, that the next move of the Nazis would be in the direction of the Suez Canal and North Africa. And since Russia was not attacked, why should she risk the uncertainties of a major war? Hitler had promised Stalin—after Britain was defeated by the impassivity of the other nations—a large slice of Iran to the Persian Gulf and Stalin felt secure.

Defensive Blunders Studied.

But all these developments and the blunders of the "defensive" advocates in Europe have been carefully studied by our War Plans and Operations Divisions of the Army and Navy.

The conclusion is obvious: Desire for power is a poison which can find its remedy only in defeat. From every source of reliable information it is obvious that while the Axis (Italy, Germany and Japan) is keeping a reserved policy in regard to the various hostile—but non-military—manifestations of this Government, it intends to transfer the war to the Western Hemisphere as soon as the last danger to the rear—Russia—has been eliminated.

Hitler has adopted the slogan of the French statesman of the 17th century, Cardinal Mazarin, who, when taxing the French people out of existence, told those who warned him about internal troubles: "Let them threaten and grumble as long as they are paying." Hitler is repeating this slogan. He pays little attention to the closing of consulates, to the Atlantic patrol and to the freezing of German funds. They mean nothing to him now. But when the time comes, all these will be taken into account for a final reckoning.

The occupation of Iceland is, however, an indication that the United States may decide to beat the Germans to the draw. The island can be made the jumping off point for an expeditionary force. It can be made into an impregnable naval and air base from which American bombers could start a large-scale war of devastation against Germany and the occupied territories. It can be made into a naval base which might destroy Hitler's main weapon against Britain—the plane and submarine blockade.

Our own military men look hopefully to the occupation of the island "for the duration" as an indication that it is this country which will choose to strike first at the time and place chosen by our own military and naval leaders.



JOSEF STALIN.
By adhering to defensive tactics, he missed a rare chance to strike at the Nazis during the Balkan campaign, says Constantine Brown.
—A. P. Photo.

Tax Program

(Continued from Page C-1.)

New Dealers contend, upon conditions prevailing in the 19th century when scarcity of capital, lack of man power, the abundance of natural resources and free land and an expanding world trade meant that most of the profits of industry were immediately reinvested, either to expand existing enterprises or to start new ones.

Favor Spending Program.

The New Deal theorists favor even in normal times a liberal spending program supported by heavy taxation for current purposes and by borrowing for long-term investments. An expansion of public debt at a rate sufficient to absorb the Nation's savings is held to be desirable. Taxation would be used to finance the spending program, to promote a redistribution of wealth and income and to control the flow of funds through channels necessary to maintain prosperity.

Economists of the old school challenge some of the basic assumptions of the New Deal theorists as to the causes of recent economic difficulties, contend that technological developments afford unlimited opportunities for investment if the Government will refrain from needless interference and the imposition of heavy burdens, that the spending policy of the New Deal has failed to produce the expected results, that tax policies have been a deterrent to business, that the use of taxation to gain social and economic ends is hazardous and inevitably causes new dislocations in the economic structure, and that the theory of a constantly unbalanced budget and expanding debt is unsound and will lead to financial disaster.

In the clash of philosophies between

RUSSIA'S UKRAINIANS ARE A PROUD PEOPLE

Their Treasury of Rich Resources Is Hitler's Goal

By Lothrop Stoddard.

Loss of the Ukraine would be a body blow to Soviet Russia, disrupting its economic life in almost every way. Conversely, the conquest of the Ukraine would give Germany access to most of the foodstuffs and mineral products which she so badly needs.

That is the immediate issue involved in the titanic battles now raging on Russia's western borders. But behind the campaign itself lies the destiny of a country and a people with a long history and profound aspirations. It is this larger Ukrainian question which eventually will come up for solution.

This vast region in Southern Russia is generally considered in its economic aspects. Relatively little is said of its history or the character of its inhabitants. Yet these are factors of great importance which should be included in any basic discussion of the problem.

The Ukraine is more than a geographical expression. The native population, often called Little Russians, are physically and temperamentally distinct from the "Great" Russians to the northward. They have an ancient culture and a language which differs from Great Russian as much as Dutch does from German. This Ukrainian stock runs clear across East-Central Europe. Resting on the Black Sea as its southern base, it stretches eastward to the Don River, with scattered outposts still farther to the southeast as far as the Caucasus Mountain wall. Its northern boundary is the belt of swamp and scrub which extends across the mid-Russian plains and separates the open prairies of the south from the forest country of the north.

Pride Selves on History and Culture.

The Ukrainian stock extends beyond the historic boundaries of Russia well into Southern Poland and even across the Carpathians into Northern Hungary. Taken together, these Ukrainian-speaking people number about 40,000,000 and inhabit an area of fully 220,000 square miles. That is a territory as large as our New England and Middle Atlantic States, with Ohio thrown in for good measure.

The Ukrainians pride themselves on their history and culture. Indeed, they believe themselves to be the true Russian race and culture type, deeming the Muscovite Great Russians a half-Finnish or Mongol blend which has lost many vital characteristics of the parent Russian stock. A glance at Russian history lends some arguments for such contentions.

In the early Middle Ages, when the Great Russians were rude colonists wrestling with still ruder Finnish tribes amid the gloom of the vast northern forests, a genuine state was growing up

on the rich grass lands of the south. This budding state showed the marks of a vigorous young civilization. Its capital, Kiev, situated on the middle reaches of the broad Dnieper River and lying on the immortal trade-route from the Black Sea to the Baltic, was a city of wealth and importance. It was to Kiev that Christianity and European civilization came from Byzantine Constantinople. It was from Kiev that light went forth to illumine the somber barbarism of the Great Russian North.

During the 10th and 11th centuries the Grand Principdom of Kiev stood in the forefront of European powers. Its close contact with both East and West is shown by the fact that one of its princes married a Byzantine emperor's sister, while another prince took to wife the daughter of Harold, last king of that Saxon England which fell before the onslaught of William the Norman.

Ukrainians Hated Polish Rule.

Ukraine probably would have continued to play a prominent part in European history if it had not been overwhelmed in the series of Asiatic invasions which assailed Eastern Europe. For more than 100 years the princes of Kiev battled manfully with those nomad hordes; but in the 13th century came the great Mongol invasion which broke the old Ukrainian state to pieces. Kiev was razed, the wide prairies of Southern Russia were swept bare, and the western section of the Ukrainian folk fell under the political sway of the rising kingdom of Poland.

Polish rule was hated by the Ukrainians. The Poles, though Slavs, had received their religion and culture from the Roman West, whereas the Ukrainians had taken theirs from the Byzantine East. This religious and cultural gulf could never be bridged. The Poles were the ruling class, regarded as oppressors by their Orthodox subjects, who resisted every effort made to Polishize and Catholicize them. Attempting to escape from the Polish yoke, Ukrainian frontiersmen ventured back into the deserted plains, battled with the declining power of the Mongol Tartars, and set up the famous Cossack Republic of the Dnieper.

Division of Ukraine.

Alarmed at this development, Poland tried to conquer the Cossacks. Fighting desperately against both Poles and Tartars, the Cossacks turned to the czarism of Moscow which had grown up in North-central Russia with Moscow as its capital, acknowledging the czar as overlord in return for promises of self-government. But the czar broke his promise and made a deal with Poland, dividing the Ukrainian country between them. Thenceforth Russians and Poles mutually tyrannized over their respective spheres, and the lot of the unhappy Ukrainians became, if anything, worse than before. When Poland itself fell at the end of the 18th century, Russia seized most of the Ukrainian territories. Only a small part, known as Eastern Galicia, went to Austria.

During the 19th century the czars did their best to "Russify" their Ukrainian subjects. But the forbidden lan-

guage and culture had a refuge across the frontier in Galicia, and from this haven ideas of resistance to czarist oppression spread through the Russian Ukraine. As relations between the czarist and Hapsburg empires grew tense over Balkan rivalries, the Austrian government encouraged the ideal of an independent Ukraine, just as Russian agents were sowing disloyalty among discontented elements in Austria-Hungary. Then came the great war which smashed both the czarist and Hapsburg empires, reducing all Eastern Europe to temporary chaos.

The Ukrainians tried to plead their case before the Versailles Conference, but their claims were obscured by the Allied aim of building up a strong Poland and an enlarged Rumania as bulwarks against the new threat of Soviet Russia. So a large block of Ukrainians was placed under Polish rule, while smaller segments went to Rumania and Czechoslovakia, another Versailles creation. The old Polish-Ukrainian feud was resumed with most unhappy consequences.

Became Soviet State.

The bulk of the Ukrainians remained under the rule of Moscow, now transformed into Soviet Russia. Theoretically, Ukrainian prospects looked bright, because the Communist regime promised a federation of Soviet Republics, with full regard for the language and culture of each, coupled with a large measure of self-government. This would have satisfied the demands of all Ukrainians except a few extremists dreaming of an independent Ukrainian state. However, in practice, those Soviet promises proved illusory. Local self-government turned out to be a sham, while ruthless Communization more than offset cultural tolerance somewhat above the minimum allowed under the czars. There is certainly discontent in the Ukraine today, though the iron censorship of Moscow makes it impossible to say how much, or what proportion is due to nationalistic or economic causes.

What we do know is that the Ukraine is a veritable treasure-house of natural resources. Russians call it their bread basket and sugar bowl. A large proportion of the wheat, maize, beet sugar, vegetables and fruits in the Soviet Union is grown in the Ukraine.

Equally important is the Ukraine's mineral wealth. It produces 75 per cent of the coal mined in Soviet Russia, and more than 80 per cent of its iron and steel. Furthermore, since the deposits of coal, iron and manganese ore in the Ukraine occur close together, they form the natural basis for heavy industry, which has been greatly developed. Large industrial cities dot parts of the Ukraine, while mammoth hydroelectric installations supplement coal with waterpower. Furthermore, the Ukraine is the gateway to the Caucasus region lying just eastward, where there are some of the richest and most extensive oil fields in the world. Finally, the ports on the Black Sea handle all the water-borne commerce of Southern Russia and are the natural links with the outer world.